1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

we have here primitive and undeveloped religious sentiment where the personality of the deity is hardly separated from striking natural phenomena, or remnants of some old cultus of the heavenly bodies, mountains, and tribal deities preserved in a hazy way by a military race which had not paid much attention to religion.

The Masai believe that ordinary persons die like cattle, and they throw away their corpses to be eaten by hyenas[1], in the revoltingly unceremonious way common to many East African tribes. Medicine men, however, and influential people are buried, and their souls are said to pass into snakes, which are respected in consequence. Many tribes on the Nile also reverence snakes. It is noticeable that death and misfortune are not attributed to witchcraft. The Laibon is not the same as the Witch Doctor of the Bantu tribes, and it is no part of his duties to detect witches.

As the Masai men will practically do nothing but fight or tend cattle, they are naturally dependent on others for all articles, including their arms, which cannot be manufactured by women. There is among them a special tribe of smiths, called Il-Kunono, who make iron weapons, but are treated as inferiors and not allowed to marry Masai women. A somewhat similar tribe are the Dorobo or hunters.

It would appear that the military organization, the aversion to hunting, to eating game or vegetable food, and to engaging in agriculture or any productive art are peculiarities specially developed by the Masai, though some of them have been imitated by other tribes. Another peculiarity is the shape of their houses—long low buildings constructed of poles, grass, and mud, and divided into rooms by partitions. Their other customs, however, seem to tally with those of the Latuka, Bari, and Dinka, as far as differences of residence and occupation permit. Remarkable points of agreement are the nudity of the men, the shaven heads of the women, extraction of the middle teeth of the lower jaw, resting in a standing position on one leg, drinking the blood from living animals, and spitting as a sign of affection or benediction.

Linguistic evidence points the same way, though ampler and clearer information about the languages of the Nile is desirable for purposes of comparison. It is no want of respect to the labours of Sir H. Johnston and others to say that the researches of Mr. Hollis have for the first time

[1] It has been suggested that this practice may be due to a desire not to contaminate the earth by burial, but Mr. Hollis could find no trace of this idea, although he carefully inquired.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
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824 283 Il-käk ooitaunyeki 'ng-opit:

1. Ol-mesera.
2. Ol-darpoi.
3. Ol-dōpai.
4. Ol-tepesi.
5. Ol-depe.
6. Ol-churai.
7. Ol-musalala.

The trees from which rope is made:

1. *Adansonia digitata*, L.
2. *Kigelia africana*, Bth.[1]
3. *Sanseviera cylindrica*, Boj.
4. *Acacia Seyal*, Delile.
5. *Acacia Merkeri*, Harms.
6. *Acacia robusta*, Burch.
7. *Musa Ensete*, J. F. Gmel.

Ol-chani ooitaunye 'l-muran 'ng-opit naashetye 'l-taighan:

The tree from which the warriors obtain the cord for binding their plaits with:

824 954 955 578 O-reteti. Ore aii ten edek ol-tuñgani ol-likae, pe ebaiki en-diata, neipot ol-likae meēu anotaki, nēāniki eng-opito o-'reteti, nepik 'n-guti-alle náirōua oo 'musetani oñgwan.

Ficus, near *F. elegans*, Miq.

If one man curses another, and the curse takes effect, the man who has been cursed calls the other and asks him to spit on him and to tie on his arm a strip of cord made from this fig-tree. The cord is first of all dipped in hot milk and then four beads are threaded on it.

824 Il-käk ooitaunye 'l-oibonok 'maahon:

1. Ol-oirien o-'l-tarakwai.

The trees used by the medicine-men in making their medicines:

1. The heart-wood of *Juniperus procera*, Hochst.

2. 'Ng-abōbok oo 'n-dana o-'l-mokongora.

2. The roots and stalks of *Lantana sp.*

3. O-seki. Ninye ol-chani aidai too-'l-Maasae; eata 'maabon enye naaji Ol-okóra, neitau 'l-oibonok. [789]

3. *Cordia ovalis*, R. Br. This tree is thought much of by the Masai, and a charm made from it, which the medicine-men use, is called Ol-okora.

[262] Eata aii 'l-ñganaiyok ooinos in-gera nāji 'N-gululu o-'seki.

It has, too, an edible fruit, called The berries of the Cordia, which the children are fond of.

4. 'Ng-abobok o-'l-kioge.

4. The bark of *Courbonia virgata*, Brongn.

5. 'N-dana o-'l-asasiai.

5. The roots of *Osyris tenuifolia*, Engl.

[1] Or *Kigelia pinnata*, DC.

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

warriorhood ". He also states that *Unoto* " is probably the best known and most misconstrued ceremony in the Masai age-grade system ".

Unoto is not performed at a single place for whole Masailand, but in every territorial section or group of sections. [90] It consists of three main stage: (a) a testing of the candidates by the elders; (b) the election of the ceremonial leader of the unit; (c) a sacrifice of a bull.

a) The first stage takes place in a special hut called *singira*. [91] Not all the candidates, i. e., junior initiates, are allowed into the *singira*, but only those who have kept the sexual regulations which bind junior initiates. In order that no one may enter the *singira* under false pretences the entrance is bewitched by the elders. According to LEAKEY, [92] another test is performed insidie the hut aiming at detecting those who have entered surreptitiously.

In the annual report of the *NAD*, [93] we read that every candidate is expected to give " an account " of his past life. " The importance of the *E-Unoto* " states the same report, " lies in the fact that it imposes an obligation upon a warrior who has disgraced himself in any way to clear himself of the stigma before he can marry and settle down as a respected Elder of the tribe ". " The *O-Singira* " says FOX, [94] " gives the warriors permission to have sexual relations with initiated women ".

b) The nomination of the ceremonial leader (*ol aunoni*, pl. *il aunok*, or *ol otuno*) takes place inside the *singira* hut. The elders

[90] LEAKEY's statement, p. 194, that at the *Unoto* " all the members of a given group (i. e., age-unit) from the whole of the Masai country, north, south, east and west are required to be present " is emphatically denied by FOX, p. 451, and FOSBROOKE, p. 29. According to FOX the following sections perform it: (a) Purko; (b) Loita and Siria; (c) Damat; (d) Kuputiei, Lodokilani and Matapatu; (e) Laitokitok; (f) Kisongo. And FOSBROOKE says that the *Unoto* is celebrated " by sections or groups of sections " and is attended by as many warriors as possibile, " but by no means all ". SANDFORD, on HEMSTED's authority, recorded that the *Unoto* was held by the Purko, Kakonyuke, Dalalekutuk and Damat on the Kinangop. The Sigirari, Matapatu, Kaputiei and other divisions where it suited them best.

[91] There are contradictory descriptions of the *singira*. MERKER states that it is a 'very big hut'; BAGGE says " not so big "; HOLLIS " small ". Leakey and FOX state respectively " an enormous ", and a " very large " hut. Probably it all depends on the actual number of the initiates involved.

[92] LEAKEY, *l. c.*, p. 195.

[93] *NAD*, p. 21.

[94] FOX, *l. c.*, p. 452.

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

It is possible to consider that solidarity as a kind of class identity. This identity does not exclude the possible variations and differentiations of class-members arising from individual differentiations of talents and character, from leadership, seniority and social prestige attached to the possession of a great number of wives and a large herd of cattle. The main expressions of that identity are the use of a single name for the whole class and some special marriage regulations which apply to class members and, to some extent, to their children.

Thus, a man may not marry the daughter of a member of his own class. If he fornicates with her he is punished by his own age-mates. " His kraal is destroyed, he is severely beaten, and a number of his oxen are slaughtered ". Similarly, " if a warrior or boy commits adultery with a wife of a man belonging to his father's age-grade (or class), he is solemnly cursed by the members of that age-grade ". (HOLLIS). Furthermore, any class member when a guest of any of his age-mates, has a right to cohabit with his host's wife. MERKER, says that a widow " must not re-marry but she must live with the members of her deceased husband's class ". This " sexual communism ", as HOLLIS calls it, takes place only among members of the same class. It is limited, of course, by clan and kinship exogamy, which, even for class members, is strictly enforced.

At the performance of the *Embolosat*, *Engibata*, *Unoto*, *Ngeherr* names are given to sets instituted. Names assumed at the *Embolosat*, *Engibata*, and *Unoto* are temporary, for temporary is the nature of the set thus established. At the *Ngeherr*-proper all previous names are discarded for a single name which is final and applies to the age-class as a whole. It is this name which is handed down to the following generations. Age-class names are, as it were, the milestones by which Masai can order their past into a certain historical perspective. Class names are thus recalled when historical facts are recounted.

Lists of class-names have been recorded by our authorities. It may be of interest to reproduce here some of those lists collected by MERKER, FOX, and FOSBROOKE.[186] FOSBROOKE has attempted

has been shown them, he will enter one. When he has entered, the owner of the hut leaves him and goes to search for a place to sleep in... A Masai cannot refuse hospitality to a stranger (of his own age) for he is afraid that the other members of his age will curse him, and he will die ".

[186] MERKER, *l. c.*, p. 289; FOX, *l. c.*, pp. 450, 462; FOSBROOKE, *l. c.*, pp. 11 s.

3: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1910 FL12 Masai FL12

601 431 Thus, a man gives his brother's wife or his paternal uncle's wife, or his paternal uncle's son's wife a cow, a calf, or a lamb, and the terms of address used by the two, instead of being *par-sidan* or *yeiyo*, as the case may be, are *pa-kiteăg*, *pa-ashe*, or *pa-supen*; a father-in-law gives his daughter-in-law a calf, and the two call one another *pa-ashe*; and a paternal uncle gives his nephew's wife a she-goat and calls her *pa-kine*. Similarly a man's first wife usually presents each successive wife with [595] a calf on her marriage, and instead of using the term *na-ăĭni* when speaking to one another the two women say *pa-ashe*; a woman gives her husband's brother's wife a donkey as a wedding present, and the two women call one another *pa-sighiria*; and a mother-in-law selects a cow for her daughter-in-law some months after marriage, when she has learnt to keep house for her husband, and the form of address is *pa-kiteăg*. This method of address is carried even further, and is used between men of the same family. A father, for instance, usually gives his son a bull when the boy is eight or nine years of age, and the two call one another *pa-oiăgŏni* instead of *papa* and *li-ayŏni*; a paternal uncle makes a similar present to his nephew, and the same form of address is used; an elder brother gives his younger brother a heifer, and the two call one another *pa-'n-dauwo*; and paternal cousins often use the terms *pa-oro* or *pa-mereggesh* when talking to each other.

The following terms are found: *pa-kiteăg*, the bullock or the cow; *pa-moăgi*, the bullock; *pa-kĭshe*, the cows; *pa-oiăgŏni*, the bull; *pa-'n-dauwo*, the heifer; *pa-buăgni*, the bull calf; *pa-ashe*, the calf; *pa-kuo*, *pa-oro*, or *pa-sitima*, the he-goat; *pa-kine*, the she-goat; *pa-lulelo*, the kid; *pa-kerr*, the ewe; *pa-merrgesh*, the ram; *pa-sighiria*, the donkey; *pa-supen*, the ewe lamb; *pa-mao*, the twin kids.

With one exception, a present of this nature is not made, nor are these terms of address used, outside the father's family. Thus, a brother cannot give his sister a heifer so that the two might call one another *pa-'n-dauwo*, because if the sister marries she will leave the family; a maternal uncle cannot give his nephew a bull and call him *pa-oiăgŏni*, and maternal cousins may not address one another by the terms *pa-oro*, etc. The exception to this rule is made when a man marries. He then presents his father-in-law with a bullock and his mother-in-law with an ewe, and the terms of address are *pa-kiteăg* and *pa-kerr*. These presents have nothing [583] to do with the cattle paid for the bride.

A maternal uncle (*ol-apu*) exercises great influence over his nephews, as it is 604 believed that if he were to curse them they would die. He can at any time stop a 578 fight in which one of his nephews is engaged by merely calling on his nephew to 754 desist, as the nephew would be afraid of his right arm withering if he were to [593] disobey. This power is to a certain extent reciprocal, and if a man were to start beating his wife he would have to stop if his maternal nephew ordered him to do 593 so. A father and any old man of the family can also usually stop a fight by telling 626 the combatants to desist, but they are not necessarily listened to. A mother has 754 more influence, and if her son refuses to obey her, she strikes her stomach and says, "You were born in this"; whereupon the son is said to sicken, and can only recover when his mother makes a rope of fibre which she hangs round his neck.

Prior to the meeting, Mr. Hollis visited the Uasin Gishu Native Reserve and several of the adjoining farms and obtained the following information. The Uasin Gishu Masai in this area numbered in all between 1,400 and 1,500 souls, and paid tax on 440 huts. They possessed 15,000 head of cattle and 25,000 sheep and goats. 4,000 head of these cattle were in the habit of grazing on land belonging to Captain Grogan, who received toll in bullocks at the rate of 1 per cent. per annum. There were 30 kraals on Lord Delamere's land, containing 3,000 head of cattle, which were allowed this privilege without payment. The remaining 7,000 or 8,000 cattle were for the most part in the Native Reserve.

Statistics of the Uasin Gishu Masai. G48* 231 [162] [651]

The two reserves occupied by the Uasin Gishu Masai in February, 1911, were separated by a strip of alienated land, and steps were taken to re-acquire parts of adjacent farms belonging to Captain Grogan which would join these two areas and form one native reserve having an area of some 40,000 acres. The Masai were informed that, when this reserve had been allotted to them, they must regard the question of boundaries as definitely settled. They were also given to understand that, in lieu of hut tax, they would be required to pay a cattle tax of R. 1 per head or a stock tax of one beast out of every herd of 100 cattle, sheep or goats.

Further extension of the reserve. G48* 311

In July, 1911, the Provincial Commissioner, Naivasha, reported that dissensions had occurred between Chief Lembere and the hereditary Laibon, Walikondi, leading men in the Masai Reserve. Lembere had been constituted Chief by Mr. (now Sir Frederick) Jackson when he was stationed at Ravine and had acquired a considerable following. Charges of witchcraft had been brought against Walikondi, with the result that he requested permission to move, with the other Masai, from Laikipia into the Southern Masai Reserve. His following expressed a desire to accompany him. It seemed, however, that such a movement would be the cause of friction between the Uasin Gishu and the other Masai, who have little in common, and it was decided to hold the matter over, at any rate until the Masai Move was an accomplished fact.

Dissensions between Lembere and Walikondi. G48* 598 754 791

In May, 1912, the sanction of the Secretary of State was requested to an exchange of land held by Captain Grogan in the Naivasha Province for an area on the Athi Plains. Captain Grogan was willing to exchange 16,638 acres, to be used for an extension of the Uasin Gishu Masai Reserve, for 30,000 acres on the Athi Plains. The Secretary of State approved this arrangement in June, 1912, and the Provincial Commissioner, Naivasha, was instructed to take steps to mark out the extended Uasin Gishu Masai Reserve.

G48*

A description of the Uasin Gishu Masai Native Reserve was accordingly drawn up, and read as follows:—

Uasin Gishu Masai Reserve boundaries. G48* 131

"The reserve is divided into three parts:

"No. 1. Commencing at the point where the Nakuru Eldama Ravine Road crosses the Enaroauro (or Nassour) River the boundary follows the right bank of this river down stream to its junction with the Esageri (or Sageri) River; thence along the left bank of the Esageri River up stream to the point where it is crossed by the Nakuru Eldama Ravine Road; thence along this road in the direction of Eldama Ravine to the point of commencement.

"No. 2. Commencing at the point where the Esageri River is crossed by the Nakuru Eldama Ravine Road the boundary follows that road in the direction of Nakuru to the most northerly corner or portion L.O. 487; thence in south-westerly direction along the western boundary of L.O. 487 to its intersection with the eastern boundary to L.O. 502; thence northerly and westerly along the eastern and northern boundaries of portion L.O. 502 to the Esageri River; thence along the right bank of the Esageri River down stream to the point of commencement.

"No. 3. Commencing at the most westerly corner of portion L.O. No. 486 on the Eldama Ravine Road the boundary follows the western boundaries of L.O. 485, 484, 483, 661 in a north-easterly direction to the most northerly corner of the latter (which is also the western corner of L.O. 662): thence in a south-easterly direction along the southern boundary of L O 662 to the Molo River;

5: Maguire G-5 (no date) 1928
FL12 Masai FL12
Kisongo

685 stolen, the fine is one ox for each sheep stolen. In the cases of thefts from *'l-meek*, the fines are always reduced, because it is held by the Masai that all the cattle in the country belong, in reality, to them.

If the thief has no cattle, he must give his daughter in marriage to the man whom he has robbed if the latter is a Masai. He gets paid the usual dowry for her, however. If the theft is one of money (a practically unknown crime), the amount of the fine is regulated by the amount of money stolen and the fine must be paid in cattle.

The offence of arson is not known, and there is no stated penalty. If, as a result of grass-burning or through carelessness, a man is the accidental cause of another's kraal being destroyed by fire, he is supposed to bring a bottle of honey, or a cow,[1] by way of compensation. No fine is laid down.

En-giopo: Adultery. *En-gitaapare*: Seduction

684 [754] If it be known that a man has lain with a woman of another age, he is cursed and has to pay two bottles of honey and two cows before the Elders will remit the curse.[2] Should he be caught in the act, the friends of the cuckold tie him up at the kraal door and he is beaten, pelted with cow-dung and spat upon by everybody, including the women. If the offender is a warrior, his pigtail is cut off and he is cursed. This humiliating punishment is greatly dreaded.

It is no offence for a man to commit fornication or adultery with a woman or girl of his own age, but should a warrior fertilise an unmarried girl, it is considered very wrong. He [848] must pay a cow and a bottle of honey, and the child will be the property of the man the girl is going to marry.[3] If the girl is not engaged, the child will be the property of her father, or her eventual husband may take it. By arrangement, Masai warriors generally marry the girls they cause to conceive.

[1] The Masai are not definite regarding the cow in this case. In fact, the Elders had a mild squabble on the point when the above information was being taken.

[2] See Hollis, *The Masai*, p. 312.

[3] Masai girls are often engaged to be married from their very earliest years.

6: Thomson K-3 (1883-1884)1887
FL12 Masai FL12

776 In connection with the decided belief of the Masai in a God, it may be noted that they have also some minor deity called Neiterkob—apparently, as far as I could learn, an [754] earth spirit. They have faith in witchcraft, though the efficacy of the lybon, or medicine-man, lies not in any innate ability of his own, but in his power of intercession with Ngăi, who works through him, and imparts magical virtues to various objects. Their conception of the Deity seems to be marvellously vague. I was Ngăi. My lamp was Ngăi. Ngăi was in the steaming holes. His house was in the eternal snows of Kilimanjaro. In fact, whatever struck them as strange or incomprehensible, that they at once assumed had [782] some connection with Ngăi. Their prayers to him were incessant. Nothing could be done without hours of howling, whether it was to seek direction where to slaughter their 824 enemies, or to ward off a disease. The most sacred thing among 778 them is the grass. Held in the hand, or tied in a sprig to the dress, it is a sign of welcome and peace. Thrown at any one, or into some mysterious place, it is an invocation for a blessing on the person, or a propitiatory offering. Next to the 272 grass comes the milk. No liberties may be taken with it. 778 The milk must be drawn into calabashes specially reserved for its reception, into which water is not allowed to enter—*cleanliness* being ensured by woodashes. To boil it is a heinous offence, and would be accounted a sufficient reason for massacring a caravan. It is believed that the cattle would [231] cease to give milk. The cows, it may be remarked, are never milked except in the dark.

885 Moran found married life sadly dull after his warrior experiences, and to kill time he accompanied one or two war-parties. But that was exceptional. His time henceforward was chiefly occupied in eternal and interminable discussions on the most trivial questions, or wandering long distances on visits to his friends, while his wife stayed at home to milk the cattle, or occasionally made journeys to neighbouring hostile tribes to buy grain. She, however, was in her element when a caravan came round, and then she enjoyed the double pleasure of an intrigue and a lovely present of iron wire and beads.

595 In time Moran's first wife became old and ugly, and he took to himself a second—the former being stripped of all her iron wire for the purpose of decking the new comer. At last the 764 day closed for both of them, and one after the other, they formed the subject of horrible hyenas' laughter. These fierce

9:Fosbrooke G-5 (1936-1948) 1948 FL12 Masai FL12
Kisonko

is confirmed by numerous reliable elders, that, even if the laibon had given his sanction for the circumcision, the Dareto elders would have been justified in acting as they did. 561 791

On a safari in June, 1938, laibon Mbeiya laid down a ceremonial for closing the age. It consisted of taking a small bird (dead) and breaking its legs and putting out its eyes. Whitehouse records a similar ritual in the same connection. On further enquiry it appears that this procedure is merely a curse which may be laid on any elder who is determined to circumcise his son during the 'closed season' in defiance of warnings. It is generally considered improbable that such a ceremony will actually be performed. The point of recording this case is to illustrate that the laibon's part in this matter is merely to re-inforce by magical means a decision that had already been taken by the elders. It is also of interest to note that Mbeiya was passing off as original a curse which had been used in Kenya for years. [154]

Although the supervision of the age grade ceremonies has been recorded as an important function of the laibon, this activity is subject to curious restrictions, the principle of which I have been unable to ascertain. The facts, however, show that the laibon of one section may perform the ceremony for another, or alternatively the assistance of an 'unofficial' laibon may be sought; for instance the Ngeherr or passing out ceremony of the Dareto age-set of the Kissongo section was nominally held under Parrit, and the Unoto or promotion ceremony of the Kisale age under Mbeiya, who were respectively the ruling Laibon at the material times. But in fact an old Kikuyu adoptee of the Engidong clan, one Lolkokwa ole Kashungu (now deceased), was called in to assist in both these ceremonies. By agreement the Mondul laibon received the fees in respect of these ceremonies from the Naberera and Kibaya areas, whilst those contributed by the Mondul and Longido Masai went to Lolkokwa at Bisil, Kenya Colony. In another case, Sangoyan, laibon of the Loita section, performed the Unoto or promotion of the Kisale age for the Matapatu and Lodokilani sections, which are nominally under Kimuruai (15). All that can be said, therefore, in our present state of knowledge, is that the 'official' laibon to the section does not necessarily play the leading part in the age grade ceremonies of that section. [597]

In the choice of Laigwanak or Spokesmen of the Age-grades, Whitehouse records "The medicine man always accepts the spokesman presented to him," a statement for which there is ample confirmation throughout Kissongo. Hollis, it is true, states "If the chief medicine man approves of the selection, a cloth is made for the new chief . . . ", but this is with reference to the launon who is a chief of *ceremonies* only, and certainly does not apply to the Laigwanak or Spokesmen.

It is also noteworthy that the il Piron elders keep in very close touch with the laibon, from the time they take charge of the new age, until their charges stand down. Most of the Laigwanak of the Kisale or Senior Warrior Age of to-day state that they were first taken to Laibon Parrit when he was still resident in Kenya, i.e. prior to 1923: they were of course only boys at the time. The laigwanan of Lossogonoi for instance

11: Leakey E-5 (no date) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
Kenya

When the time for the ceremony arrives, a very big village is built called *eunubu*, and all the members of that age-grade which is to be transferred from the Junior to the Senior Warriorhood stage assemble here with their friends and relations. The warriors concerned all dress up in their very best finery, and lion skins especially are in great demand; and for nine days they dance a special dance called *Kaibach el moran*. During the whole nine days of dancing a very great number of cattle are slaughtered, and there is great feasting and beer-drinking, but neither the dancing nor the feasting are the important part of the ceremony; they are merely incidentals, centred around the *thingira*.

The Thingira.—Away from the main village an enormous hut has been built which will accommodate anything up to four hundred men at a time. It is said to be round in plan, to have a pointed roof, and to take very many days to build. There are no partitions inside it, but in the centre is dug a circular pit. Outside the hut is a thorn fence with only one entrance. This hut is called *thingira* (a word which has been borrowed by the neighbouring Kikuyu and applied to ordinary bachelor huts), and is the centre of the whole of the *Eunutu* ceremony. During the whole of the nine days of the ceremony this *thingira* is used as a "club-house" by the men of the age-group concerned with the ceremony, but there are certain restrictions, and it is these restrictions which give the key to the meaning of the whole ceremony. It is considered both ignoble and dishonourable for any man in the warrior groups—and more especially the junior warrior groups—to have any sexual relations with any but the uninitiated girls, but, of course, cases do occur either openly (*see* Forced Marriage) or in private. Now all members of the age-group concerned must be present at the *Eunutu* ceremony, but only those who have strictly observed the above regulation and have never had sexual relations with an initiated girl or married woman may enter the *thingira*. In order that no one may do so under false pretences the entrance to the *thingira* is bewitched by the elders, so that if anyone ineligible enters he will surely die.

The *thingira* is not big enough for all the warriors concerned to use it simultaneously, and each day for the nine days there is a public ceremony when the various individual territorial groups are expected to enter. For this ceremony all the friends and relations of those who are expected to enter collect round the entrance and each individual as he enters is greeted with applause, as he has shown by entering that he has not dishonoured himself or his family. Those warriors who dare not enter try to slink away unobserved, for they are disgraced. Inside the hut—as mentioned—is a large hole which is used as a cesspool, into which the men who enter the hut must urinate. This cesspool is also bewitched as an extra precaution, and anyone who has falsely entered and evaded the witchcraft of the entrance will certainly die upon urinating in the hole. All those who enter the *thingira* on any given day during the ceremony sleep there that night, and also have milk and meat brought them for food, and sit and talk for hours. During

585 837 *Married Sex Life.*—Among the Masai (as already stated) a married woman's first duty to her husband is to bear him children, and husbands do not mind if their wives have intercourse with other men, provided that they do not do so actually at a time when their husbands want them themselves. Even in such a case—apart from private measures which a husband might take—there is no recognized punishment for the woman, or any legal claim against the man, provided, of course, he is a married man of a sub-clan other than the woman's own. [684]

834 *Sex Restrictions.*—There are, of course, certain definite regulations which must be observed, the chief of which are :—

(1) No woman may have intercourse while she is with child (not even with her husband).
(2) No woman may have intercourse during the actual period of menstruation.
(3) No married woman may have intercourse with an uninitiated boy.
(4) No man in the warrior class may have intercourse with a married woman.
(5) No married man may have intercourse with an uninitiated girl.
(6) No woman may have intercourse with a man who is the son of any member of her husband's own age-group ("They are as his own sons, whatever their clan may be").
(7) As already mentioned, the rule of sub-clan exogamy applies as much to general sex life as it does to marriage and, therefore, a woman must avoid all men of her own sub-clan.

684 PENALTIES FOR BREACHES OF THE ABOVE RESTRICTIONS.

Breach of No. 1.—There is no fixed punishment for a breach of this regulation, but the man would be accused of causing damage to the child, and should abortion take place later, or the child be born with any deformity, he would be held responsible.

Breach of No. 2.—There is no punishment for a breach of this regulation, but it is simply "Not done."

Breach of No. 3.—A woman who is found infringing this rule is severely punished in the following way. She is tied up and severely beaten by her husband, so that her whole skin is bruised, and then sheeps' urine is poured over the abrasions. This acid causes very severe pain for many hours. The boy is not punished, as the fault is held to be entirely that of the woman, who should know better. In actual practice the boy is expected to bring the husband a present of honey beer in order to placate him, and so avoid being cursed with a very potent curse. [431] [754]

Breach of No. 4.—There is no punishment for the woman who is found to have broken this rule, nor is there actual punishment for the man, save that if his sin is discovered he is dishonoured at once by his fellow age-group members, and even if not found out at once, his dishonourable conduct will be found out at the *Eunutu* ceremony (*see* p. 194), when his turn comes to enter the *thingira*.

11: Leakey E-5 (no date) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
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Breach of No. 5.—A married man who breaks this regulation and is found out is very severely punished, the punishment being left to the women of the village, who have the right to hamstring and maim all his cattle.

Breach of No. 6.—The punishment for this is as for a breach of No. 3 as far as the woman is concerned, and likewise the man must take beer to the aggrieved husband to avoid a curse.

Breach of No. 7.—A man who breaks this regulation is held to be solely responsible, no guilt whatever attaching to the woman. As this offence (intercourse with a member of one's own sub-clan) is the worst possible, the penalty is very severe indeed. Every animal the man possesses—cattle and sheep alike—is hamstrung and otherwise maimed and left to die, and if the man can be caught he is so severely beaten and maltreated that he is almost certain to die too.

The Marriage Transaction.—The usual number of animals transferred as marriage settlement are :—

3 Heifers.
1 Ox.
1 Ewe yearling.
1 Ram.
Also honey beer in large quantities.

Of these, the ram is slaughtered by the mother of the bride, who is anointed with its fat.

When a girl who has conceived before initiation is being married by a man other than the lover who was responsible for her condition, only one heifer is given (instead of the three mentioned above) at the time of the marriage, but the other two heifers must be handed over at such time as the first of her children is initiated.

PART VI.—FAMILY LIFE.

The Relation of Parents to Children.—As already indicated, a man's legal children among the Masai are—as often as not—only his by virtue of his being the husband of their mother, and quite irrespective of physical parentage. Nevertheless, fathers are very proud of their children, and take considerable interest in their welfare. They must always be present at the initiation of a son or daughter, and feel very hurt if for any reason they are prevented from doing so. When a son grows up and eventually forms a village of his own, his father and the other men of the village who belong to his father's generation may not come and feed at the new village until one of them has been presented with a heifer called *ndawu* by the young man.

11: Leakey E-5 (no date) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
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427 428 Women possess no property save their ornaments. Of these the beads and the necklaces become the property of the daughters, but the wire ornaments are thrown away.

775 776 *Spirit Life.*—My informants declared that the Masai had no belief in a spirit life after death, or in spirits of any kind, but I am not satisfied on this point. For some reason (probably a restriction with a heavy penalty attached) they were unwilling to discuss this subject.

754 *Curses.*—The death-bed curse is considered very terrible, as there is no possible way of escaping its evil effects, for a curse can only be removed by the person who uttered it. A man who has been cursed will use every possible means to have the curse withdrawn immediately lest the utterer of the curse should die. (A curse [775] uttered during life is supposed often to remain inactive until the death of the utterer, and this in itself seems to indicate a belief in some sort of spirit activity.)

PART VIII.—CLANS.

614 The following is a list of the clans and sub-clans among the Masai (it is as nearly complete as possible):—

Main Clan Name.	*Sub-clans.*
No. 1. Laiseer	(1) Laiseer (2) Legetoi (3) Letoya (4) Lukumai (5) Lamothere (6) Libartimaru (7) Loiger.
No. 2. Ndarosiru	(1) Ndarosiru (2) Lanaboguaru.
No. 3. Molelian	(1) Molelian (2) Mbarakineti
No. 4. Magesen	(1) Magesen (2) Lesegu.

PART IX.—CATTLE AND SHEEP.

733 As a pastoral people the Masai have many very interesting customs connected with their flocks, but information on this subject is very hard to obtain, as details of the greatest interest to anthropologists are often not given because they are considered too trifling or too well-known to be worth discussion. A few interesting notes were, however, obtained.

12: Fox G-5 (1925-1930) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
Kenya

Functions of Laibons.—A *Laibon* is far more than a mere medicine man or purveyor of charms. His function would seem to approach more closely that of a chief priest of the Israelites, and the N-Kidongi sub-clan might be compared to the Levite tribe.

He is, or should be, the religious head of the tribe. No ceremony nor important enterprise should be undertaken without his blessing, in return for which he should be given a large present of cattle. He prays to God on behalf of the people. On one occasion Sendeyo arrived in my camp before sunrise, just as I was about to start on an excursion into the deep forest, and made a prayer for our safety. We stood round him and responded "*Na-Ai*" (= "O God") at the pauses; I was too much taken by surprise to remember the details of the prayer except that it was very impressive, and that he ended by giving his genealogy (*see* Hollis, p. 326) in order to show that the prayer was one which should receive attention.

The *Laibons* use charms (*indalingoi*) for various purposes, and their employment is invariably accompanied by prayer to God. I have a few of the charms in my possession and have been instructed in their use, under promise not to reveal my knowledge. Sendeyo once said to me that a good heart was better than charms.

Witchcraft.—Although the *Laibons* use charms, witchcraft, *i.e.* harmful magic, is not indispensable to their office. Some of them, however, are alleged to have made use of it. Witchcraft is not indigenous to the Masai. Such persons as I have found practising black magic in Masai country have learnt it from the Kikuyu of Nyeri District or from the Meru.

Religion.—The Masai believe in one God whom they call En-Gai, which is the same word as they use for rain. They say that God is one, but permeates everything. He may be prayed to as inhabiting a wood, a stream, the earth, etc., but He is all the same God. The Masai only use short prayers such as "Na-Ai" (O God) and "Na-Ai mikiar" (O God do not strike me) except for the prayers at *Il Pul* and those of *Laibons* already mentioned. Some, if not all, of the ceremonies have a religious significance, but I cannot give details without further experience.

Superstitions.—There are certain old trees with holes in them, in which a Masai puts a handful of grass or leaves when he passes. They have told me that this is equivalent to a prayer, "May I live to be old like this tree."

A traveller sometimes puts a stone in the fork of the branch of a tree near the track in order that he may arrive at his destination before nightfall.

There are a few places where the passer-by should tie a knot in the grass. I am uncertain of the reason for this.

When the new moon is first seen people pluck grass and throw it towards the moon, saying, "*Injoki o sesen ol oado naaisho ol dorop*"="Give me the body which is long and I give you the short." I do not know the significance of this.

16:Hamilton U-5 (1959) 1963
[P. 109-B] FL12 Masai FL12
Loita

[56] [789] The fourth and last day is called 'The Day of Shaving.' Today the parents take the hide ring off their son's finger and tie it to the stopper of the gourd which his mother uses for milk. On this day, too, each of the *murran* gives a black bead to the *Ol-Oiboo* who makes them into a necklace. In later life, if one of the givers ever [754] does him any harm, the *Ol-Oiboo* throws that one bead away—and the giver dies.

[302] The final act of the ceremony is the shaving of the youths' heads. This is done in the same way as yesterday with the 49. It is a solemn, indeed sad, operation and many a mother was in tears at the thought that her treasured son was no longer a boisterous youth and must soon assume the almost Roman *gravitas* affected by the adult male Masai.

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233	614
262	643
304	721
411	754
524	759
564	802
595	805

[For mythological accounts of the origin of

livestock and dogs	see category 539, p. 359
honey as a source of food	360
board game	361
club carved of wood	362
blood as a source of food	362
blacksmiths	364
clans and lineages	369-389
counting and number words	370
7-day week	370
polygamy	377
ol oiboni and chief	377
circumcision	392
[illegible]	392
sorcerers	392
physicians	393
mandate for war on non- Masai	595-605.]

M 614 (186) /15/ The 'l aiser and El molleljan to a certain extent stand in contrast to the El oudgana, whom they half-mockingly, half-abusively also call 'N dalata-gutuk (1)

M (192) 1. 'N dalata, gluttons, en gutuk, the mouths: by putting the two words together the idea of the few is supposed to be intensified.

or Eig-e(j)-ongil-eini (2).

M (192) 2. ; the bones of the hard teeth: ongil a hard, ol eini, the teeth.

and, in contradistinction to them, designate themselves as El-ai-yiti. As the reason for this, tradition relates that the El oudgana were once separated for a longer period of time from the other two tribes and, upon reuniting, made a bad impression because they no longer observed the divine commandment forbidding the killing of female animals for consumption. This gave rise to the above nicknames, which, freely translated, mean "greedy gluttons."

M 613 The El bedjo and El guvi are not infrequently designated as El simpele, a name formed after that of a war leader, Os ongil. As the reason for the combination, it was said that members of the two sublineages were once notorious cattle thieves.

M 791 (613) (189) The most commanding lineage, not only of the 'l aiser tribe, but of the whole Masai people, is the El gilisk, because both the family of the chief (ol oiboni) and that of the seer or (ol gilisk) belong to it. The designation "chief" is actually not quite correct, since the ol oiboni does not rule directly and does not exercise any real executive power. He rules only indirectly: the firm belief of his subjects in his prophecies and in his supernatural ability of sorcery gives him an influence over the destinies of the people. Despotism and cruelty, such as we find among all Negro rulers, are foreign to him. He is less a ruler than a national saint or a patriarch, in whom the Wakuafi and Aad also see their head. The people speak of his saintly person in timid awe, and no one would

M (189) D (791)

/156 cont./

802 after the other, from the little finger to the thumb, into the palm of the hand. While one then further counts in like manner on the fingers of the left hand, those of the right one remain closed and only its thumb is moved freely. After turning down the thumb of the left hand, the one counting raises both hands, now closed into fists, and says: tomon (= 10). For counting further, one begins anew in the same way and does not continue, say, on the toes.

801 [197] The Masai count neither human beings nor cattle. It is believed, as the Israelites also did, according to 1st Chron. 21, that the ones counted would die. Thus, they correctly estimate larger multitudes of living creatures in round numbers, and small ones with quite great certainty. Only dead persons, for example, the fallen warriors, are counted individually.

192 826 The names of the fingers might be mentioned here: thumb = ol moruo kitok, that is, the big old one. Index finger = en soyutiñoi or ol osokutoni, that is, the sorcerer: if one wants to make someone ill through sorcery, one spreads the magic medicine under the nail of the index finger and, murmuring a curse, one points with it at the person concerned. Middle finger = ol gerêti, that is, actually the strip of skin worn ringlike on the middle finger. Fourth finger = ápoto eñ genenja, that is, mother of the little finger, which is called eñ ginjenje or also eñg ilinda.

802 Ordinals: ol oiturúgu = the first /masc./, ol iaré = the second /masc./, ol loguni = the third /masc./; eñ aiturúgu = the first /fem./, eñ iaré = the second /fem./, eñ guni = the third /fem./. The /masc./ (the /fem./) (general), ol (eñ) abaye: the last in the meaning of the rearmost is called ol abaye ta goroom: the one standing on the right end of a row (to the right of the one judging) is called ol abaye t' eñ gaina ertatenne (eñ gaina = the hand, ertatenne = on the right), the one standing on the other end, ol abaye t' eñ gaina ekediñaje (ekediñaje = on the left).

Once is called nabo katá (or nabo gadá); twice, kat' aré; three times, kat' uni, etc.

764 /201 cont./ later, upon passing
[765] the place, one again throws a stone or a handful of grass on that spot where the dead lay. The more respected he was, the longer this custom expressing veneration is continued.

[781] If the laid-out corpse is immediately devoured the first night by hyenas, this is regarded as a sign from 'Ng ai, at whose command the animals act here, that the deceased was a good human being.
[782] On the other hand, if one finds the corpse still untouched the next morning, the survivors bring a black ram as a sacrifice to appease the wrathful god. No prayer is spoken in this connection.

765 After the obsequies, a funeral banquet takes place, at which the animal whose fat served to anoint the deceased person is consumed. Everyone is welcome to take part. Formal mourning is observed only after the death of adult male persons. The period of mourning does not begin until one or more months after the death, and, to be sure, with the survivors shaving their heads (1)

1. Cf. the passage Micha /Micah/ 1, 16 (from the time around 724 B.C.) and Jer. 7, 29 /sic; see 7, 29/ (from the time around 605 B.C.).

--and the principal widow also cuts her nails -- and ends as soon as the hair has grown back about an inch long. /202/ The mourners remove all ornaments, for which the women also unwind the wire spirals from their necks and the wire cuffs from arms and legs: they do not take part in any feast or dance and may not marry during the period of mourning. For the death of a warrior his fellow comrades and fellow section-members, as well as his brothers and half brothers, mourn by shaving their heads and removing their ornaments.

766 In contrast to the simple exposure of the corpse, that of a chief
[791] (ol olbonî), of a married man of the El kiboron lineage, and often
[613] also that of a sorcerer (ol gutatîki) is buried. The bottom of a pit
• [769] a meter deep is covered with a neat's hide moistened with fat, and
[237] upon this the corpse is laid in the position described above. A second neat's skin, likewise rubbed in fat, is then spread over the corpse. Now the pit is filled with stones and earth and the latter

715
825
826
613

/210 cont./

Allegedly they never bite the El kiboron people: on the other hand the latter often use them as frightening devices against both Masai and Negroes.

796 The Masai are not familiar with devils, but indeed with the -- male -- demon 'Ngnaunir, whose body is hard as stone and therefore invulnerable, who bears the head of a predatory animal and whose feet are armed with claws. He lies in wait on paths and calls passers-by by name, in order then to tear apart and devour those who approach. For most adults 'Ngnaunír is merely a bogeyman [8C1] for naughty children. "Do not go too far away," the mother says to the children, "otherwise 'Ngnaunir will get you."

• 754 If a person brings misfortune, illness, or death to another through sorcery (en ayám), this is merely the effect of a power inherent in the magic medicine, which is based on the composition of the medicine and is effective through the recitation of certain formulas and the execution of special gestures. The aforementioned amulet ring 789 [75] (ol geretti) protects one against the effect of magic made by another [154] Masai. Women who go into the neighboring areas of foreign tribes to buy vegetables especially protect themselves from their sorcery. They smear their foreheads and cheeks with cattle dung or wear around their necks a cord on which are strung small, split sticks. Other amulets that I found contained, sewed in leather, a mixture of plant powder (from wood, /211/ roots, barks), after which they are named, and a secret medicine of the ol goiatiki, who alone is able to prepare the whole in such a way that it is effective. The [842] legumojig amulet is worn by women around their necks and is regarded as prompting conception. We have become acquainted with another remedy prized by the women barren up to then in connection with the boys' en gebita feast. The en goguroi is tied around the ankle and protects one from ailments of the legs. The ol durgel [751] is worn by warriors around the neck or wrist for protection against sorcery. In hand-to-hand combat the powder contained in it is also scattered toward the enemy, whereupon the latter is supposed to be forced to give up his resistance. The en jorrá protects the husband from the anger of his wife when he has committed some folly, for example, has gone beyond the customary limits on

/211 cont./

789 amatory adventures. The powder also serves as love magic, in that
[832] the woman sprinkles herself and the man with it, through which his love for her is heightened. If a woman loses her first child soon after birth, she hangs in the doorway of her hut during her next pregnancy an amulet that consists of a few cowrie shells sewed on a small piece of leather and a little bag, made by the ol goiatiki, containing
[824] sawdust to protect the expected child from sickness and death. The plants preferred by the ol goiatiki for the manufacture of his magic medicines are: en gaitetojai (Commelina Merkeri K. Sch.), ol kioge (Courbonia virgata), en gujene (Cyathula Merkeri Gilg), ol assassiai (Osyris tenuifolia), os segi (Cordia quarensis), ol debbe (Acacia Merkeri Harms), en gadardar (Ochna Merkeri Gilg).

• 754 The belief in the evil eye, which makes human beings and livestock sick, is also generally widespread. One afflicted with the evil eye (erta gonjek) may not let himself be seen in the vicinity of the kraals. He is anxiously avoided by all people and therefore builds a kraal of his own, in which he lives alone with his family. If he ventures to enter a strange kraal, he must be prepared to be killed. If a human being or a head of livestock suddenly falls sick or dies without one's being able to explain this by natural causes, it is often believed that the reason for it must be sought in the doings
[784] of an evil sorcerer (ol osukutoni). Only if such a one has not been in the vicinity for a long time is the misfortune traced back to a punishment from God.